584 sonal preferences carry weight. The business preliminaries include a small payment from the bridegroom's people in recognition of the fact that the bride's family have had the expense of rearing her and are about to lose her services, an interchange of gifts between the houses, and the provision
● 585 by the bride's father of an outfit for his daughter. In average peasant families a girl will bring to her new home three sets of every-day cotton clothes and caps, a winter cloak, a set of bedding, and for feast days an embroidered cap or two and a coloured scarf; possibly in addition an aluminium pot or iron bucket; details will vary in every individual case.

428 The laws of inheritance in Hunza show the same equitable
585 common sense as distinguishes the Burusho's other customs. A woman cannot inherit land, since only a man can tackle irrigation work, field making, and so forth. But if a girl is still unmarried when her father dies, it is her brothers' duty to see her adequately outfitted, dowried, and settled. Among the gifts that may accompany a girl are apricot trees; her father or brothers may settle on her the right to the fruit of one or more of the family trees. Our friends of No. 3, who were very straitened and possessed only mulberry trees, had fortunately the right to an apricot tree in Zénába's home garden. We saw Kaníza and her sisters coming home one day, all carrying shoulder-baskets piled high with golden apricots: "We've been to Báltít to gather the fruit of mother's tree," they told us, "and this isn't nearly all. There's shaking-down for two or three days more." When the father dies the family property is fairly divided between the sons, who either work it in common or if they prefer divide it up. Questions then arise as to how many poplars equal an apricot tree, or how many willow trees a wheat field, but the distribution rarely gives rise to quarrels, for the people are just-minded and at need will call in neighbours to adjudicate over knotty points.

428 One of their customs is particularly sane: if a father of
587 grown sons elects to marry again, he is free to do so, but in that case he must share the property as if he were himself a son; and a son by the second wife will only inherit a grandson's
587 share. If a woman is widowed young, she will in the natural

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

course marry again, taking with her to her new home any unweaned child, but leaving older children with her first husband's parents. If, however, she has grown sons, it is considered not obligatory but more honourable of her "to guard her husband's grave" as they phrase it; the sons will either retain her at home as still the *núli gus* of the joint house, or they may give her an adjacent home of her own with her still unmarried girls. In either case they will maintain her with all deference and respect.

When a woman marries she by no means loses her identity. She becomes a "wife of the Diramiting" without ceasing to be "a daughter of the Burónng," and when in due course she dies, her own tribal brothers will assist her husband's in performing the last rites. She pays frequent visits to her parents' house, joining when she comes in whatever work is going on; if her family can afford to receive her, she may even go to stay for a lengthy period; it is not unusual for her to take her first baby home and stay for a year after its birth. This does not mean neglect of her husband, for he will still have his mother and sisters-in-law to fend for him. We used to chaff Bibo Gímo's married daughter, whose husband lived in Dorkhan, and ask what he would say to her long absence; but she had, in fact, come to help her mother before and after baby Faqér's birth.

Marriage-related families continually exchange small gifts of fruit or vegetables in season, for at different levels fruit will ripen earlier or later by several weeks; we would see Kaniza, for instance, carrying a small basket of early mulberries to her mother's people or to her married sister in Báltít, who would no doubt send in return some late fruit from Báltít when ours in Aliábád was over. In rush times of harvest, too, relations-in-law are quick to help each other, and a man owes the same courtesies of speech to his wife's parents as to his own.

Except for the physical difficulties of moving about it, Hunza is distinctly a place for the old. No detestable scientific innovations have come to create a gulf between the generations; long after he is unable to help with the heavy work the old man's experience is of value to his great-grandchildren. Levy

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

888 One day when we were visiting a wine-press, far below the old fort and its graveyards, I made friends with a dear little boy of five who seemed exceptionally active and intelligent, even in a country where all children are peculiarly alive and bright. A beautiful old woman joined us, her handsome face framed by two becoming silver plaits. "Tawálut must be your grandson," I ventured. "'Deed then and he's not," she retorted, "he's my great-grandson. His father was my favourite grandson, and when the poor wife died at this baby's birth, I took and suckled him myself"—a feat with which not many of our great-grandmothers could compete. But of course if you marry at sixteen, you may with luck be a great-grandmother by fifty. Still, it was a good effort, and the boy was an excellent witness to her vitality.

[162] 147 The Burusho population is not large, ten thousand or so at most, and the ramification of well-remembered pedigrees—the humblest can record his genealogy for an astounding number of generations back—brings it about that all families seem ultimately related to one another. It may be this racial purity, judiciously combined with avoidance of close in-breeding, that has produced a stock so markedly fit and healthy. Travelling up through Astor, Gilgit, and Nagir to Hunza, the strong contrast in physical fitness and general intelligence is apparent to the most casual observer; and anyone who knows the races of the Agency will engage a Hunza servant in preference to any other.

585 Marriages normally take place in winter when the people have leisure to give thought to new alliances. The solemn betrothal, presided over by a khalifa, is the effective part of the ceremony. It is usually performed in the bride's house in a semi-private gathering attended only by the members of the families concerned. We were most anxious to be allowed to see one, but by no means hopeful of securing the privilege, to which of course we had not the slightest claim. The servants promised to negotiate matters if possible, and at last Dádo brought us word one day that a girl-relation of Sagi's was about to be betrothed and her people were willing to invite us, but said: "We are poor folk, and our house is humble and we feel

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

● 585 ashamed." We sent Sagi off with all the reassuring messages we could devise and a couple of bottles of our hoarded kerosene to help to light the feasting. The house lay near our own, down one steep lane and across some now open fields. We were met some yards outside the door and escorted in. The kind people had vacated one entire dais for us, which drove some of the younger folk on to the roof, and we could see bright eyes peeping in through the smoke-hole. The whole house was clean and swept and gay with rugs and carpets; the fire was bright, and over it capacious cooking-pots were [302] simmering. On the major dais, opposite us, four people only were in evidence: the khalifa, whose badge of office was a huge pair of spectacles; the bridegroom in a bright silk overdress, a new *choga*, and cap of spotless white homespun (his eyes were blackened and a row of tiny dots of black becomingly distributed on his cheek bones); the "best man" and an equivalent representative of the bride, probably a maternal uncle. Every available inch of other space was gradually filled with members of the two families who, as they arrived at the door, were ceremonially sprinkled on cap and left shoulder with flour. The bride's father was standing near the store-room door, the mother modestly just inside it. Probably but for our space-consuming presence—which filled us with some compunction—they would have been seated on the second dais.

After we had taken our places and had exchanged greetings and congratulations all round, the simple but impressive ceremony began. The khalifa, with his open manuscript, sat at the outer edge of the dais, the bridegroom squatting beside him on his left, while the two best men stood gravely facing them. A railing, hung with a silk curtain, screened the further section of the dais, where the bride was temporarily concealed, supported by her brothers and maternal uncles. The service was in Persian, with a strong admixture of Arabic, and was read—or repeated from memory—clearly and reverently in a pleasant sing-song recitative, which rose to a beautiful intoning when rehearsing the names of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Forgiver of Sins.

When the religious exercise was over, the khalifa reverted

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585

to the Burushaski of everyday, and enquired of the father whether the milk-money had been duly agreed on. "Yes," he replied, "500 rupees (about £35)." This left us fairly gasping till the colloquy went on: "And are you willing to remit 20 rupees in the name of Allah?" "Assuredly." "And 20 rupees in the name of the Prophet, on whom be peace?" "Agreed." "And 40 rupees in the name of the Imáms?"—and so on. The khalifa eventually thus worked the sum down to 40 rupees (£3). We afterwards heard criticisms of what was otherwise acknowledged to have been a fine performance of the khalifa's: he should have persevered till he got the milk-money down to 5 rupees (= 7s. 6d.); "but it doesn't matter, they won't in any case pay more; seven and sixpence is the current rate."

Then the embers of the fire were blown upon and some Syrian Rue thrown in, which filled the house with a delightful smell of incense. The khalifa now turned to the bridegroom: "I now ask of you, So and So, the son of So and So, Barataling, are you willing to take this girl, Rahil, daughter of So and So, Khurukuts, to be your wedded wife?" The question was put three times, and three times the bridegroom answered clearly: "Yes, willing." Then the girl's uncle, acting as her best man, stepped to the screen and looking over proposed to her the complementary question, and her voice answered: "Yes, willing, willing, willing."

The bridegroom's best man now lifted a silken handkerchief off a small wooden cup of water which the uncle had been holding all the while and passed the cup to the priest, who breathed over it in blessing, and gave it to the bridegroom, who solemnly—and audibly—sipped three times. The uncle now took the cup and passed it under the silken curtain to the bride, who did likewise. The two were now man and wife; the silk curtain was withdrawn and the bride tenderly led out. This courtesy might have been performed by the officiating uncle, but it seemed that he had been twice married, so another male relative, "the husband of one wife," gave her his arm. Bride and groom then seated themselves with linked arms side by side in the centre of the dais while a flat platter of

2; Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

585 very thin wheaten pancakes was brought and presented to them. The bridegroom broke a piece of bread and, before eating, ceremonially touched with it his lips and forehead. The gesture was not unlike that with which a devout Roman Catholic crosses himself before meat. The bride followed suit, and then [292] retired again to her corner now unscreened. She was dressed in red silk and wore a pair of red-dyed soft leather boots; a tinsel scarf shot with gold and orange had been flung over her cap.

The ceremony was now complete, so we said good-bye to our host and hostess, thanking them most warmly for having allowed strangers to come, and pressing into their hands a modest gift of silver for the young husband and a bundle of embroidery silks wrapped in silver paper for the bride. With all-round greetings and best wishes we then withdrew, winning a special smile from the bride, leaving the two families to get down unembarrassed to their feast.

The silken handkerchief which covers the ceremonial drinking-cup is one of the perquisites of the khalifa, and we heard that—having no use for it himself—he usually trades it off to the next clients who summon him for a betrothal, and so it goes the rounds.

It had for a time looked as if we should altogether fail to witness a betrothal, but the ice having now been broken, we were honoured by several further invitations. We accepted one other in which the bridegroom was a relative of Qudrat Ullah's. It more or less duplicated the first; the khalifa recited somewhat less well, and the whole proceedings seemed to us a trifle less well organized. When the milk-money discussion was proceeding Qudrat Ullah suddenly broke in: "Oh, cut the cackle, and get down to five rupees at once!" The suggestion was duly acted on amid much laughter. The fictitious figure first quoted is a compliment to the bride, and in Nagir it is the custom, we were told, to start at thousands of imaginary rupees. This second bride was unusually plain, poor girl—scarcely worth 7s. 6d. at prevailing rates, we thought.

David was pressed to take photographs, which he duly tried to do. It was no easy task in a smoke-darkened, crowded room,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

with a shaft of bright sunlight striking obliquely through the smoke-hole, and innumerable youngsters in continuous movement. Still, he got some records, if not exhibition photographs, of the event.

In many ways Hunza marriage customs are more enlightened than our own. The newly wedded pair are permitted the privacy of some barn or outhouse for their early days, but the two are not abandoned to their own inexperience to make or mar their future physical relations; no terrified bride is forcibly raped on her wedding night by the clumsy impetuosity of her mate, no diffident and chivalrous boy left agape in ignorance of acceptable advances. The bridegroom's mother stays with them, and teaches him to woo and win in such fashion that both may have the maximum joy of their new experience. In cases where the bride is over-fearful or over-young, the boy's mother will sleep between them to protect her till the couple are ripe for mating, and should the bride conceive an unconquerable aversion for her husband the marriage is tolerantly annulled by consent. Her own mother will reason with her and endeavour to persuade her, but the girl will not be coerced against her will.

When the instructional honeymoon is over the young people take their place with the other married pairs in the common living-room, where kindly darkness gives privacy at night to all.

As soon as a woman is aware that she has conceived, she quits her husband's side and joins the other women on their sleeping bench, while he rejoins the group of bachelors, and not until their child is weaned will the couple mate again. A husband who babbled of marital rights as overriding the rights of wife and child would be an outcast amongst his kin. If a father by impatience robs his child of the full period of its mother's nursing—usually three years for a boy and two for a girl—the pirate baby that ensues is stigmatized by a name more opprobrious than "bastard." This enforced continence appears to inflict no hardship on the husband; he is not asked to exercise it in a *solitude à deux* or the provocative proximity of a barbaric double bed. Moreover, he has known from babyhood that such a forbearance forms an integral part of the scheme of

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addressed to each of the four corners of the shed. To our amazement we saw by the light of the flames that the shed was chock full of goats (we had imagined that they would have been cleared out for the ceremony) who seemed not in the least perturbed. Nadíro then came out again and lit a torch of juniper twigs at the fire and went in to wave it similarly into each of the four corners. Bíbi Anjír then handed [262] down a big wooden basin of *múl* which looked like a rather slushy brown pudding with pinkish trimming on top. This festive dish is made only on special occasions, such as a child's birth or the like. Before starting in to eat the *múl* or hand it round, the old man took his stand in the door of the byre and with great dignity and reverence lifted his eyes to heaven and recited the fumigating prayer. Bits of it ran something like this: "O Moses, Holy Prophet, grant that one hundred milking vessels may be required, and that our shears may be used on a hundred sheep! May kid follow after kid and lamb after lamb! May there be rams with curly horns and he-goats with short horns turned in! May milk flow in floods and may the butter pit be filled with butter!"

Happily DL had already got the prayer written down so [233] we were able to follow it better than if we had been hearing it for the first time, and were even able to note that the Ustád got it a bit mixed in parts. We ascertained what was the point of the "short horns turned in." It is simply a question of packing. The byres are small and the beasts have all got to live crowded together in them throughout the winter, so that a princely he-goat with spreading horns is a disaster to his owner and a danger to his fellows.

Now came the moment when the family and friends would tuck into the *múl*, and we thanked our kind hosts most warmly for letting us see the little ceremony, and fled to the warmth of our own fire and our butterless tea. I was in terror lest we should be pressed to partake of the *múl* which is so special a dish that it was sure to be reeking of priceless *mahtah*—of which we had no wish to rob them.

The next item on the Hunza communal programme is the Great Wedding Day, which falls about mid-December on some Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners.

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585 Thursday fixed by the Mir in consultation with the diviners. The sensible plan prevails of having all weddings celebrated on the same day throughout the country. This avoids all cross-entertaining and much reduces expense. The hungriest guest cannot attend more than one big feed at a time. All betrothals have taken place quietly a few weeks earlier at each family's own convenience. The Wedding Day is only the jollification which sets the seal of publicity on the existing private contract.

All the morning feasting is in progress at the bridegroom's house, attended by the menfolk of both families and by twelve of the bridegroom's tribal brothers who act as his "best men." In the early afternoon the bridegrooms and their guests all repair to "The Gate" of their village where every spare space is already packed with spectators. The women and children are collected roughly at one side, the men and boys at the other, but there is no taboo about this, and no offence is given if one or another happens to stray into or wishes to pass through a crowd of the other sex, nor was it thought odd or unseemly that I usually sat beside DL amongst the men.

585 292 Before we arrived, the tops of walls, the branches of the nearest trees, and all the adjacent roofs were packed (till we feared the slight rafters were bound to give). Everybody had turned out in their best and brightest clothes, our little boy and girl friends almost unrecognizable, their jolly little fringes soaked in oil and plastered down into most unwonted and unbecoming tidiness. The women and girls were very gay with bright-coloured scarves flung over their prettiest caps; poor ones might have only a piece of chintz or muslin, but by far the greater number sported lengths of Bukhara silk in daring blendings of bright green, yellow, red, blue, or purple. The general effect was delightful, and the bunches of womenfolk on the roofs would have needed colour photography to do them justice. Not to be wholly outdone, the men had coloured cotton shirts of marvellous hues and gay silken embroidery trimming their woollen *chogas*.

The Bérichó band, with big drum, pipe, and kettledrums,

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

squatted at the base of a big tree, and the tribal brothers of each bridegroom led him to the dance. The Diramiting led off and the other clans followed in their recognized order of precedence. Each unhappy bridegroom was amazingly got up. Instead of his ordinary homespun cap he was coiffed with an exotic white or coloured turban with a tuft of feathers at one side held in place by a fancy brooch and a dangling string of beads looped on to it. A brightly coloured silk shirt floated out over a startlingly white pair of baggy cotton trousers and (if he could afford it) a loose silk robe replaced his normal homespun *choga*. He carried in his right hand an old-fashioned battle-axe tied with silken ribbons, and in this gaudy attire he looked as ill at ease as bridegrooms the world over.

The picturesqueness of the Hunza dancing, which is the mainstay of every form of merry-making, is nowadays much impaired by dancers who have acquired short-sleeved, would-be European shooting-jackets or tight trousers, or—worse still—have adopted tennis shoes or ammunition boots or some other form of horrible non-local footgear instead of the orthodox bare feet or soft leather boot. When carried out in the correct dress of the country Hunza dancing is amusing and interesting. Most of the footwork is merely a variant of a sort of polka-step—now short, now long, now in great leaps, now in fierce stamps, now on the toe, now on the flat foot. There is one characteristic step which would require a lot of practice: with one knee bent very deep, you rotate on that foot giving regular little taps on the ground with the other till the circle is complete; then you reverse and repeat in the opposite direction.

Each dancer dances independently, but the five or ten in the ring at any one moment all try to synchronize their steps in time to the music. The footwork, however, is but a small part of the dance; what is most admired is the action of the body and of the arms; these are waved and flung about and bent in a hundred different patterns. The long *choga* sleeves which dangle 6 or 8 inches below the hand give a most fantastic effect to these gestures.

When the second bridegroom's group came to dance they

2: Larimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

when the second bridegroom's group came to dance they
535 were joined by a young princeling (a morganatic grandson of
585 the Mir's) and a small friend of his, both in lovely silken
[643] gowns. They were a picturesque wee pair. The younger was about six, and his fond mother had got him up as a bridegroom, complete to the blackened eyes and fantastic dots on the cheek bones. The two boys polkaed round, stamping their bare feet and waving their tiny arms in perfect imitation of the grown-ups, and whenever they were in danger of being danced down, some kind hand would gently shove them to a safer place in the centre, where they went on gyrating. It was a jolly scene. Whenever there was room other small boys would join in; each normally venturing to do so only when his own clansmen were dancing. Once or twice some little dare-devil would intrude into the wrong group, and another small boy would try to punch his head. At once good-humoured bystanders would collar the pair and dump them out of mischief at some distance from each other.

All the spectators were very merry in their orderly way, and there were bursts of applause at frequent intervals. No small share of the fun was contributed by the bandsmen, who varied the time and pace and worked the dancers up to a fine climax. The big drummer of Aliábád is an old humorist called Húko. He waves his body and his arms about as he lustily attacks his drum and chaffs the dancers: "Go it, man! Leap, can't you, leap! Do you call that *dancing*? What are your legs for? Let your body swing, man! Get a move on there! Wave your arms, can't you? Oh, come alive!" etc., etc. The kettle-drummer flaunts his two sticks and wags his head, but being a younger and less privileged person than Húko does not venture on any verbal chaff. The poor piper who has mouth and hands glued to his funny-looking instrument that is half flute half trumpet just flings his body about and looks volumes. All three are so very much alive and on the spot that they imply that nothing else in life is quite such fun as playing while other men dance and marry. Their special efforts on such occasions are rewarded by extra gifts of bread, flour, and butter.

After about an hour and a half we came away, but for long
after we could still hear the dance-music going on.

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after we could still hear the dance-music going on. When 585
dusk begins to fall the bridegroom betakes himself with his train of tribal brothers to his bride's house, where feasting is resumed. When the guests can eat no more or the food is finished—which ever happens first—the bridegroom's party carry off the bride to her new home. In theory they carry her all the way, but as that may be for some miles across rough country they frankly admit that they soon set her down and let her walk herself, but carry her again when near their goal. On arrival the bridegroom's family welcome her at the door with incense and thin bread. Then the pair take hands and step over the threshold together putting their feet down simultaneously. The bride then advances to the hearth which is henceforth to be her own. She touches the hearth-stones with her fingers which she then kisses. She is then led to the seat of honour by the main pillar of the house and food is brought for her party, who presently return home. A brother or maternal uncle and a bridesmaid remain with her that first night.

Next morning the mother-in-law leads the bride to the flour bin and sets her to bake thin wheaten bread. She kneads the flour, rolls out the thin pancake, and flings it on the griddle for the waiting bridegroom to turn. If she spoils the bread he is entitled to tap her with the bread-turner; if, on the other hand, he botches the baking she is entitled to smack him with the rolling-pin.

The last public episode before the Great Cold is the 796
Tumushelling, the Midnight Bonfire of the Winter Solstice, a ceremony which, so far as anyone could tell us, had never before been witnessed in Hunza by a European, and small wonder, for late December is no time for a Political Agent to be on tour nor for globe-trotters to trot. We owed our chance of seeing it to our temerity in wintering on the spot. The [805]
Hunzukuts have long since adopted the Muslim Nauroz (the vernal equinox) as their official New Year, but not improbably their earlier custom was to reckon the turn of the year from mid-winter.

We had been told that we should be awakened in the small

291 loan of it. In Kanízah's house (No. 3), though they are very, very poor, they are lucky enough to possess a woman's cloak of feather-wool. It looks extremely cosy and furry—though very old and greasy—with feathers sticking out all over it. When you can get enough down you spin the feathers in with the wool
[136] before you weave it. You can only use the breast feathers of the wild duck for the purpose, and it must take a lot of wild duck, which are seasonal and rare, to yield enough for seven yards of feather cloth. This cloak of No. 3 is the only one we have seen. So we watch "the cloak" go out for walks—now on Zenába, the cheery old mother, who is one of the few really ugly women here but who always wears a happy grin that would redeem any face, now on Apicho, the eldest unmarried daughter who seems to be always on the point of getting wed but always just failing for some reason to pull it off.

511 We eventually discovered the reason for No. 3's extreme and obvious poverty. Poor Zenába had produced five girls, including a pair of twins, and only one boy, the second youngest child. Yaman (in full Ali Aman Shah) was one of our best boy friends, a bright, intelligent boy full of life and fun and knowledge, and good at all boys' games, but he was only ten or thereabouts, and not yet able to help his father in the heavier work of irrigating, wall building, ploughing, etc., and poor Ali Akbar looked worn and frail with six to provide for single-handed—not to mention the rare extravagance of the cat. Yaman manfully did all he could, and in addition when he could be spared from home trudged four mountain miles to Báltít to attend the school there with the Mir's grandsons and a few other ambitious boys. A great little fellow, with (as far as we could see) a hard enough life before him.

Yet No. 3 was one of the most cheerful and most hospitable houses round.

511 We supposed that Apicho's prospective bridegroom was as
● 595 poor as she, and when the two families came to tot up the
302 necessary wedding feasts they just couldn't face it. Certainly it had missed fire twice after we had heard that the date was fixed (you can in certain circumstances get from the Mir a special

2: Lorimer T-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1939 AV7 Burusho AV7

licence to marry at irregular dates). Meantime no one seemed unduly cast down, and Apicho continued to grow her hair so as to be ready. Sometimes it stuck out all round her head in about a hundred tiny plaits, on other days she had a wonderful, if somewhat shaggy, mane of frizzy hair about 5 inches long. She was a dear.

The small boys and girls have the centre of their heads close shaven (a cleanly and sensible arrangement) with just a neat fringe left all round to show below their caps; married women wear, hanging down beside their faces, two plaits which are knotted up into two balls to be well out of the way. It is a most becoming style of hair-dressing. The plaits softly frame the face and the two balls dance merrily about. When a girl reaches thirteen or fourteen and marriage beings to loom ahead, she starts growing her hair in some variety of bob as a practical preparation for the state of matrimony.

We went off to one of the deep open reservoirs hoping in the good light to get a photograph of the cattle being watered at the usual time. But, alas! the nice bright day must have modified their time-table, for not the ghost of a beast turned up. On the way we saw a pretty young woman whom we knew, doing some washing. She was squatting in the sun on a stone sofa beside a pool which was still covered with thick ice and dipping the clothes in through a hole she had broken for the purpose. She then laid the wet garment on the stone and whacked it with a thick wooden beater. Further on, Najat of No. 1 was washing some tattered pieces of felt, probably to pluck down for shoddy. She had flung them into shallow water and was vigorously trampling them while chunks of ice clattered round her ankles. A hardy folk the Hunzukuts.

As we came back we found a large group of women and children on the main road, and one of the wee girls had a "doll." This consisted simply of one piece of stick with some rags hung round it and two cross sticks for arms which were jointed on and neatly attached to a piece of string so that they waved about when you pulled. They made it "dance" for us with much amusement and laughter, but we could not detach the doll and its owner from the crowd to get a decent photograph.

No. XXXIII.

Hunzulo Gəre Dastur.

000 Hire iˈyər gusan dumuˈtsasər rak etimi ke, amine eˈyen bo ke iˈne ka guˈl manaˈsər rai etimi ke, iˈne haˈlər hin iˈmo jaˈman ya gəruˈrum sisan həraŋuš e dˈuˈmərčər ˈeˈrčai.i. Iˈnər "həraŋuš" se.ibaˈn.

Ine həraŋušε ine haˈlε niˈn adabε ka oˈšai.i: "Kuˈlto jε falaˈnə 5 ine hirε iˈyər Xuda kε Peɣambərε hukumatε go.i duˈmərčər daˈrai.i, 'ja aiˈyər goˈi jo' nusen." Ine hiˈrε iˈtε guntsulo həraŋušər e yuˈyasε bər ˈečičˈai.i. "Yε bε maimi bəreˈyen," nusen, ˈeˈrčai.i.

Yat guntsi kε həraŋuš iˈne haˈlər ničai.i. Ho yuˈyasər bər ičičai.i. Həraŋuš daˈl numˈa, "jati ditsu.in" nusen, doˈutsun iˈi dasin daɣoˈwaŋε 10 mudəljai.i. Ho, "Falaˈnə guntsε gər ečˈen, fulaˈnə guntsε dau.u waščen, da fulaˈnə šukuro pfuˈl hanik dišen" nusen, nukuˈškin hilˈeˈsər dasin(er) musal gi baˈn.

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gəre dastur — gər stas was given as an alternative for *gəre*, and *miraˈs* for *dastuˈr*.

3 *gəruˈrum sisan* — "a warm person", cp. the English, "a warm friend".

6 *ja aiˈyər* — Ms. *ja iˈyər*, doubtless owing to the running together of the *ja* and the pronoun prefix *a-*. There are other instances of *a* + *i* → *ai* as well as → *e*.

7 *bər* — seems here to be used in the sense of "promise", as in English "he gave his word".

9–10 *daɣoˈwaŋε mudəljai.i* — a note adds that he sprinkles the flour on her head.

10–11 *dau.u waščen* — A sort of technical term also denoting a ritual act. I take it as meaning literally: to put the griddle on the fire.

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The griddle also plays an important role in the Shin marriage ritual. The term used in Shina is *tavo dorki*, 'placing the griddle (on the fire')'. It is rather surprising that the words used in the Burushaski account for "Marriage" "bridegrooms party" "bride" and "bridegroom", *gər*, *gəroni* and *gəroˈno*, are Shina (or shared with Shina).

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

No. XXXIII.

Marriage Custom in Hunza.

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When a man proposes to get a wife for his son, and decides to enter into marriage-relationship with someone who has a daughter, he sends one of his own relations or a personal friend to the man's house as an intermediary to ask for his daughter. The delegate they call a "herangush."

The intermediary goes to the man's house and says to them politely: "Today such and such a man has sent me, in accordance with the command of God and the Prophet, to ask for your daughter for his son. He says: 'Give me your daughter for my son.'" That day the man gives the intermediary no promise to give him his daughter. He dismisses him saying: "Well we shall see what will happen."

The next day too the intermediary goes to the house and then the man promises to give him (the girl). The intermediary standing up says: "Bring me a dish (of flour)." When he has got them to bring it he himself sprinkles the girl with the flour. Then they consult together saying: "We shall celebrate the marriage on such and such a day, and on such and such a day we shall 'put on the griddle,' and on such and such a Friday we shall fetch the dishes (of food, from the Bridegroom's house)," and they betroth the girl to the youth.

šukəro pful hʌnik dišen — Friday i. e. the day before the marriage; all marriages being celebrated on Saturday. 585

From a note I gather that the *pful hʌnik* are taken from the bridegroom's house (presumably to the bride's) and contain: *dirʌmpfi-ti*, apricot oil and ghee; and that the bridegroom's representatives take with them (on their persons?) two sets of clothes, one of which is kept and the other sent back. 584

Then they grind the *manotèki* (flour) for the wedding — for the *khamali* separately, for the *sherbat* separately, for the *qista* separately. He grinds two *talèchuqs* (= 336 lbs.) for the *khamali* and five *chuqs* (= 120 lbs.) for the *sherbat*, for the Bride's party and the tribal brethren of the Bridegroom. Then having made the (mullahs) look out an auspicious hour they put on the griddle. And they bring in the (female) relations and get them to bake the *khamali* for two days, and one day they make them bake the *qista*, and then they cook the meat. They slaughter four or five goats and they cook the *sherbat*.

Then they make the Bridegroom dress up and put on a cotton over-shirt and don a turban and carry a dagger. A man who has been once married helps him to dress up, and they make him take in his hand the ceremonial axe. Then he assembles his tribal brethren at the house and makes them drink wine and gives them bread, and they fetch the musicians and sing and amuse themselves (hold festival). Then they put white and blue spots round the Bridegroom's eyes.

When some time remains to sunset on the day ordained by the Tham they bring out all the bridegrooms to the public assembly. It is the custom from ancient times that they bring out the Dirāmiting bridegrooms first to the assembly before all the rest.

Both Bride and Groom have an ornament suspended at the cheek — the *gəre məjuk* "marriage tassel" — which consists of a tassel with a pearl or piece of coral strung above it and above that a piece of mother-of-pearl.

The Bride's adorning is mentioned again on p. 304 l. 11.

9 *γəriŋ* — the songs are in Shina.

10 *tikumots* — *nil* must be the genitive of *nil* 'indigo'.

A note says that white, red and blue spots are put round the sockets of the eyes, the object being to make the man look ugly and so protect him from the Evil Eye.

gəromi — originally written *gəromo*. I am not clear what it means here.

11 *gəromi* — is here and on p. 302 l. 2 used as the plural of *gəromo*, 'bride grooms'.

12 *ite guntsulo* — cp. note to line 2. The Tham fixes a day on which all marriages must be celebrated, or two days if there are many.

13 *mərak'aw* — this is in front of the Fort at Bāltit.

4: Lorimer L-3 (1920-4; 1934-5) 1935 AV7 Burusho AV7

Then afterwards the (grooms of the) other three tribes come out. Then the Tham also comes out to the place of assembly, and all the bridegrooms of all the four tribes come out on to the dancing place and, forming a circle, sing songs about all the former Thams in order. They sing the songs in Shina.

One party start a song and the second party take it up from them. So doing they sing songs for a longer or shorter time. When they have finished singing in succession the songs of the Thams they then play the (slow time tune) *Bapo.è Dani* and a man of the Terakuts tribe dances before them, and the Diramiting bridegrooms dance with him. When they have danced for a little they salām to the Tham and sit down. Then the Hurukuts (bridegrooms) dance, and then the Burōng, and then the Berātaling.

In this way they amuse themselves till evening. Then when evening comes the bridal parties — on the Bridegroom's part twelve or six men — go off each to the house of their respective brides. When the party enters the house they count them and slaughter a kid and the party go inside the house and sit down and sing songs for a little. Then they set food before them and, when they have eaten, the Akhond recites the Khutba in order to effect the marriage of the youth and the girl.

Then they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bridegroom, and they make a relation stand up on the part of the Bride as their representatives. They call them *wakils*. The Akhond when he has recited the Khutba and fixed the bride-price first asks the Bride in a low voice: "Are you content with this man?" and she

10 *gəroni* — here glossed: "*H. bəratwaʌle*, groom's party; each lot go to their bride's house".

11 *gəroni hilʌs* — i. e. the Bridegroom. Similarly one may say *gəroni dʌsin* for the Bride. *turma altʌn* — a note says that the Bridegroom's party consists of 6 or 12 persons, and the Bride's of 12.

12 *notsʌn* — 'counting them up to six or twelve'. For the larger number perhaps the allowance of kid is increased.

17 *noq'ʌtʌn* — past participle of *ɣʌtʌnʌs* here, and often, written *nuk'ʌtʌn*; but I have generalised *q* for the unvoiced equivalent of *ɣ*.

18 *gəronitsum* — *gəroni* is here used for "Bridegroom".

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in a low voice replies: "I am content." Three times he asks the Bride and three times he asks the Bridegroom whether they are content. Then, reciting the Khutba, he gives a little water in a cup first to the Bride who drinks a little, and what remains over he gives to the Bridegroom, who drinks it all down at a gulp.

They perform the marriage in the house of the Bride's father. For poor people in Hunza the bride-price is not large. It is twenty-four cubits of sized cotton cloth of which the price is five rupees. They fix the bride-price at five rupees. When the Thams marry among themselves the bride-price for them is very big. They fix (it at) a thousand rupees or five hundred rupees.

Then they go out to the Bridegroom's house. They make three or four sets of cotton clothes for the girl. They call them "Tosh Gatu" (the New Clothing). They put a veil (over her head) and they put earrings in her ears and fix a tassel on her cap and then they bring her out of her father's house. As they bring her out they sing bridal songs in her honour and the girl weeps, and her father and mother weep.

Then the girls, children and women collect and come (along with her) to the Bridegroom's house. When they have arrived at his door (his people) bring out *Tomal* (smoke of Syrian rue) and *Khamali* to them and the Bridegroom and Bride touch the hearth-stones (with their fingers) and kiss them, and taking each other by the hand they each simultaneously put a foot down inside the threshold in the house. The Bride, entering the house, first touches the hearth-stone with her fingers and kisses her fingers. Then they take the Bride and make her sit down at the upper end of the room at the foot of the main pillar of the house. They bring trays to the Bride's party and they eat food. When they have eaten they go off to their own houses.

17 *tsɔrilɛ wlo* — both must step over the threshold at the same moment. The one who may chance to step over first will be inferior. The hinder one's star will be "buland" i. e. he or she will be dominant. A sly man may push his bride over first.

18 *šutinʌtɛ tsʌp nɛ . . .* — touching with the fingers and then kissing the fingers is a demonstration of respect. Here the Bride's thought is said to be: "God bless this house to me".

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000 Hin muˈŋgo ya muˈlusan huruˈšai.i. Hin dasˈinan gəroˈnimu ka huruˈšabo. Inɛmur "mokaˈtum dasin" se.ibaˈn. Nukˈučɛn tsoˈrdinɛr ho dasin xamali moˈbišɛčər moˈasguse (*or*, moˈaskuse) tsayuɾɛtum dayo.aŋ dusuˈčər mutsuˈčubo. Dasˈinɛ tsayuɾatɛ han pˈači.ɛn ya bur·i.e dustsakan moˈsgusmur fat ɛčubo. Dastuˈr bila isɛ gatu moˈsgusɛ yoˈljubo.

Jati.ulo dayo.aŋ dusun ine gəroˈnimur moyuˈibaˈn. Dɛˈqulai.i bo, xamali bišačər duyuˈuski bo. Gəroˈnu.ə yuˈsɛ xamali šar nɛ dawatɛ bišamər inɛ ɛltalai bai.i. Gəroˈni.ɛ xamali ɛˈkušɛlumo kɛ gəroˈnu.ɛ muču·škatɛ duwaq moˈučai.i. In ɛltalaniš aiyeˈmanum ˈekušɛlimi kɛ yuˈse ɣaisɛ duwaq ɛčubo. Gutɛ yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Ho usko waˈlto xamaličiŋ daŋ ɛtumər dau dayo.aŋɛ niˈdɪlin diˈušaˈn. Ho xamali moˈbišai.ɛs muˈŋgo ya muˈlus mokaˈtum dasin kɛ uˈimo hˈakičaŋər ničaˈn.

Ho gər nɛ iskikutsum aŋaro guntsɛ yus muˈyər kaˈ ˈoˈgučačaˈn. Aŋaro tsoˈrdimo Hunzu.ɛ dastuˈr bila tumišeliŋɛ pfu bišɛčˈaˈn. Inɛ gəroˈno yuˈsmu ka nukuˈčɛn iwˈatatɛ teil nutˈin toˈntsatsɛ girašər jučai. Nɪkiˈrat iˈmo haˈlər nimər yu ˈiˈmi.ɛ eˈr mul ɛčaˈn. Ise mul šičai.i. Isɛr "oˈtiki mul" se.ibaˈn. Yərum zamanaˈtsum dastuˈr bila.

Dasˈinmur mu mumi.ɛ haˈlum gərər aˈlto iski sərmutsiŋ kanˈiˈ kɛ

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2 *mokaˈtum dasin* — is in effect a "Bride's Maid", but the precise meaning of *mokaˈtum*, from **-ʌkaˈtum*, is doubtful. It is used of a person in one's service.

8 *dʌwʌtɛ* — *dau* + *ʌtɛ*.

13 *dau dʌyo.ʌŋɛ niˈdɪlɪn* — "striking the griddle with flour" the idea is probably "sprinkling it with flour", as in l. 9 p. 298.

14 *moˈbišai.ɛs* — i. e. *mu* + **-ʌbišai.ʌs*. the agent form of the Causative.

[585] 16 *iskikutsum aŋaro* — Tuesday: because marriages are always celebrated on Saturday.

17 *tumišeliŋɛ pfu* — vide Vocab. s. v. There is a difficulty here as *tumišeliŋ* appears 805 to be a period of a few weeks about midwinter, and the fire appears to be connected with the *Širi Badat* myth

This would seem to imply that marriages only take place within a fixed period at midwinter. Perhaps the marriage fire is only similar to, or derived from, the *tumišeliŋ* fire.

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One of the brothers of the Bride's mother or one of the Bride's own brothers stays with the Bride, and one girl stays with her. They call this girl the *Mokātum Dasin* (bridesmaid). Then after sleeping (the night), in the morning the (bride's) mother-in-law takes the Bride away to fetch flour from the flourbin and to make her bake *khamali*. On the bin the Bride leaves a shirt, or an article of silver, for her mother-in-law. It is the custom for the mother-in-law to put on the garment.

They bring flour in a bowl and give it to the Bride. She kneads (dough of) it and begins to cook *khamali*. (As) wife of the Bridegroom she rolls out the dough and throws it on the griddle, and then the Bridegroom turns it. If the Bride spoils the *khamali* the Bridegroom gives her a rap with the bread-turner. If he fails to turn it and spoils it his wife gives him a rap with the rolling pin. This is the custom existing from former times.

When they have baked three or four pieces of *khamali* they throw a little flour on the griddle and take it off. After this the Bride's aunt, or sister, who has made her make the *khamali*, and the bridesmaid depart to their own homes.

Then three days after the marriage, on the Tuesday, they make the wife and husband lie together. On the Tuesday morning it is the custom in Hunza for them to set (lay? light?) the Tumishèling fire. And the Bridegroom, after lying with his wife, washes himself and comes out to dance at the Tumishèling fire. When he has danced and gone home his father and mother make *mūl* (gruel) for him and he eats it. They call it *Ōtiki Mūl*. It is a custom obtaining from ancient times.

For the Bride they prepare two or three large bags of parched grain and dried apricots (and bring them) for the wedding from

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18 *iwˈatate tsil nutin* — lit. "pouring water over his body" an idiom for "washing oneself". It is noted that he does this in private.

22 *ɜrmotsiɣ* — A note states that the supplies mentioned are brought by the girl's relations to her father's house one day before the marriage.

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her father's and mother's house. And they prepare for her one *chuq* (= 24 lbs.) or two *chuqs* of apricot kernels, and they provide *diram* on a tray, and apricot-kernel oil in an oil vessel, and an adze and an axe and an iron brazier (trivet?) and a griddle and a Kashgari or Indian metal cooking pot and a bread-turner, and a quilt or blanket, and a numda.

The iron-ware (and?) domestic articles they call *mutèngi*.

That is all there is to say.

ak'ara without knowledge, without reason; H. *na'ma'lum, sarḥaq.* 000

*-*aka'tum* in the service of. — *a'ka'tum ine, we* that person, those persons, in my service. *gə'ka'tum ine hir (gus)* the man (woman) in your service. *ja 'ka'tumər ər xəbər eli* tell those in my service. 94.19. *mə'ka'tum dəsin* the girl who accompanies and stays with the bride for the first days after marriage. 306.2. (Probably derived from *kar* with, otherwise from *kar* condition, undertaking). [585]

*-*akat -iq* y. armpit. — *akati.arrum (akat yarrum) bi'ski* hair from under his armpit. 22.8. *'akatiqyarər ja dam at'əlqaltimi* my breath did not reach (under) his armpits. 110.8. *jakun gə'kə akati.arə nidilin* putting the donkey-foal under his arm. 118.4. (Perhaps *-aqat*, cp. *-qaf*).

akhən IUB inopportune, untimely (?). H. *narvaqt.* (*a* + *khən*).

akhər'i, IYB, *akhi, akhi*, pl. *akhizlə* strange, novel, extraordinary, remarkable; stranger. — *kinə kut akhi čayan sə'ti.i* this man says this strange thing. *akhi dustakən* a strange thing, object. *akhian bai.i* he is a stranger. (Cp. Sh. *akhərj* unfamiliar, inexperienced).

*-*ak'-i* N. daughter and son, children. — *a'kari, gəkiri, ə'ki; məkmi, ma'kmə'i, ə'kiri.* (*-a.i* to *-ir*. Cp. *-ak -yu*). [601]

akhi akhi = *akhi'l akhi'l* — *akhi akhi nuxun hiran dayami* the man, having said thus and thus, hid himself. 378.13.

akhi'l IYB, *akhil, əkhi'l akhi'l.* — Adj. such as this, like this, of this kind. — Adv. thus, so, H. *aisa.* — *akhi'l halkan* a plank like this, of this sort. *akhi'l aiyəti* don't do thus. *akhi'l ərmaan* don't be like this.

000 ɔɯɯʌʌn. ɯɔvɨɔ . . . ɔɣɯɔɯʌʌn they soaked their boots and leg-bandages in the water. Having done so they put them (hung them) on a stick. Having thus put them they went to sleep. 180.25. Ʌɨɯ *bəʃəlikɨn gɯpʌʔi* ɯɔvɨ *čʏp ɯɨ hɨrɯɨ* placing a bowl beside you, sit in silence. 106.18. *ɨ́k ɔɯʌʌ* + gen. to give a name to s.o., to call. *ɨ́ɯɨ ɨ́k jɨ bəʌʌn ɔ́lʌm?* what name shall I give him? 102.18. *gurɨŋ* (ɣɯɔ) *ɔ́ɔ* keep it in your hand. *ʃʌŋ ɯɨ ɔ́ɔ* keep it carefully. *ɔɯɯn* (St.Pe.) *dilolo bɔvɔ́ bəlʌ́, ɑpi ɔɯɔɯ dilolo* he looks in the place where he had put it, it is not in the place where he had put it. 166.20. Cp. 274.7, 342.5, 14.

ɔɯʌʌɨ negative ɔ- + *ɨɯʌʌ* not-to say; to say "no", prohibit (?).

ɔ́ɨ́ɯ, pl. *ɔ́ɓɔ*, h guest, visitor. — *ɔ́ɨ́ɯ ɨ́ʌʌ* (°-*ɨʌʌɨ*) to entertain as a guest. *hɨlɯɯ ɨɔ́ɨ́ɯ́k dɯɯʌʌn* a party of guests came. 232.4. *ɔ́ɓʌʌɨ ɔɣɨɯɯɯɔ* she gave them (y pl.) to the guests. 232.7. *mɯnɨ́k ɔ́ɓɔ* some guests. (Sh. *ɔ́ɓɔ*, pl. *ɔ́ɨ́ɓ*).

ɔ́ɨ y loss.

ɔ́ɨʌɣ, *ɯ́ɨʌɣ* food supplies provided free (in Gujhal) to the Mir when on tour (It appears to be the same as *ɯɯvɨ*). — *ɨ́ɨ́ɔvʃɔ ɯɨʌɣɔ bʌp* ɔɯvɨ on that (field) they have placed the "ɔ́ɨʌɣ" tax. 342.14. Cp. 336.8.

● 585 *ɔ́ɨlɨkɨ mɯvɨ* a form of food given to a bridegroom by his parents three days after his marriage. — *ɨ́ɯɔ mɯvɨ ɓíɔɨ.i. ɨ́ɯɔr ɔ́ɨlɨkɨ mɯvɨ sɔ.ɓɯvɨ* he eats that "mɯvɨ". They call it "ɔ́ɨlɨkɨ mɯvɨ". 306.20. (*ɔ́ɨlɨkɨ* = copulatory, from *ɔ́ɨʌʌ*. Cp. °-*ɨʌʌ* 6).

ɔ́ɨɯɣʌʌ v. °-*ɨʌɯɣʌʌ*.

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d°-*ɑsilɑs* d°-*ɑsilj-* to wet (*of* water, rain). 000
— *kɔvɑrlɑ dokɔsirlji, dɔsilji, dɔsilji* the rain will wet thee, him, them. *kɔvɑrlɑ dɔsɔlimi, dokɔsɔlimi, dimɔsilimi* the rain wet me, thee, us. *gukɔr ɑlɔsil* don't wet yourself. (Trs. of d°-*silɑs*. Cp. also, however, *dilɑs* & °-*ilɑs*).

dɑsin pl. *dɑsinɑnts* hf girl, lass, woman 585
(unmarried and till 1 year after marriage), "the bride" at time of wedding. — *jot dɑsin* a little girl. *gɔrkus dɑsin* marriageable girl.
Gen. *dɑs'inmo*. 302.14.
Dat. *dɑsinmɔr*. 304.2.
Abl. *dɑsinmɔtsum*. 304.1.
dɑsinmɔtsu. 244.13.
Pl. *dɑsin'ɑnts*. 304.15, 316.12.
mokɔrtsum dɑsin girl who accompanies bride for the first day after her marriage. 306.2. Cp. 28.19, 268.6, 287.5.

d°-*ɑskɔrɑyɑs* v. *dɔrskɔrɑyɑs*. 000

d°-*ɑskɔrtɑɑs* v.t. to make rain, *or* pour, down. (Cp. °-*ɑskɔrtɑɑs*, 4).

d°-*ɑskɑʃɑs* d°-*ɑskɑʃ-* to stop, prevent, hold up, block, impede. — *ɑtɔrskɑl* don't prevent him. *dɔskɑtimi, dɔskɑtɔi* he prevented, has prevented. him. *gotɔil dɔ.us ditɔm Xɔrum Bɑtɑlɔ dɔsɔʃɑm* excavating the water-channel and bringing it along he had stopped it at the Kh. B. 383.12. (Trs. of d°-*kɑʃɑs*).

d°-*ɑskɔrɑs* d°-*ɑskɔrɔ-* to decrease, reduce, deduct. — *dɔskɔrɑs, dɔskɔrɑs*. (Cs. and Trs. of d°-*kkɔrɑs*).

°-*ɑskɔyɑs* d°-*ɑskɔć-*, Impv. d°-*ɑsko*, Ppa. d°-*ɑskɔm*. To make descend, lower, let down, put down, set down, pull down, H. *otɔvɔɑ*. — *dɔskɔskɔćɑm* I'll make you get down, I'll set you

000 *duɣuʌmo ʌsi* midday breakfast (a Raja's meal). *doɣuʌmo pʃiti* midday bread (a children's meal).

duɣ'uʌskinʌs, duɣuʌski-, Impv. *duɣuʌskin.*

Also: *duɣuʌsk-, duɣuʌsk-, duɣuʌsk-, doɣuʌsk-*, to begin, commence. *tʌls kutsunmo duɣuʌski.ʌm* I shall begin in (after) 7 days.

A dependent verb is usually put in the dative of the infinitive: *unʌsʌr duɣuʌskinimi* he began to say. *kuʌr manaʌsr duɣ'uʌskinimi* he began to patrol up and down. 42.15. *imu ramilʌkʌr duɣ'uʌskinimi* he began to persuade him. 374.6.

Other idioms are: *zuši stʌstʌu doɣ'uʌskinuʌwʌn* they began to make rejoicing. 373.28. *xʌmʌli bilʌcʌr duɣuʌski bo* she is beginning to make the "xʌmʌli" bread. 306.8. *ʃapik dʌŋ stʌst* (for *stʌsʌr*) *doɣuʌskinʌi.i* he has begun to make bread. 126.10.

Fut. 1st. *sg. duɣuʌski.ʌm, duɣuʌskiyʌm.*
Pret. 1st. *sg. duɣuʌskinʌm.*
2nd. *duɣuʌskinuma.*

601 *du.iʌ'o* N. *step* (relation). — *dü.iʌ'o baba, mama* step-father, step-mother. *dü.iʌ'o aʌ'u, aɣʌs* my step-brother, step-sister, (man speaking).

000 *duʌnaʌt, donaʌt, doni.a* y the world. — *donaʌte dolʌt* worldly wealth. *in juʌguʌnʌn du.inaʌtʌlo apai.i* there is no one like him in the world. 30.16. Cp. 22.2, 92.28. Ar. Prs. (Cp. Sh. *donyaʌ*).

duʌiʌʌs v. *d*-uʌʌs.*

585 *duʌk -aŋ y.*
1. Spindle, used for spinning goat's hair.

● 585 2. *y* sg. and *pl*. a present formerly given by a man to his bride. It was originally 12 yards o. "latta" (hand cotton cloth). This was kept and passed on to the next generation, old and dirty. It was called the "*dukɨ pati*".

Rs. 5 is now nominally fixed as its pecuniary equivalent, but this is actually paid only if the woman is divorced.

3. (metaphor.) right, claim.

IUB gives *duk* — right, woman's dowry, H. *haq*, *mahr 'aurat ka*. V. s.v. *gar*. (Cp. perhaps Sh. *dukɨ*, debt.

○○○ *dukow ŋɨ dukʼan y* shop. — *dukawɨs jorka horaŋ hatʼi* he is partner with me in the shop. *Kʼawo dukawɨs dimanam him* it had been made in K.'s shop. 164.16. *dukawɨtar* (*dimi*, *dumawa*) (he came, she came) to the shop. Pra. 160.12, 164.10, 168.15.

dukandaw hm shop-keeper. Pra.

dukhʼaras dukhʼarɨ to deny, repudiate, reject, refuse compliance, H. *munkir horna*, *inkaw karna*, *nā mānnā*.

dukkʼaras, *dukkʼat*, v. *dikʼaras*. to be stopped, closed, impeded, H. *band karna*.

(Form of *dʼ-kʼaras* used when the subject is *y*).

duke duke with great pleasure, very gladly, I ask for nothing better. — *duke duke ithi* give it to him very gladly.

dukow Ppa. 2nd. sg. of *jwyas* thou having come.

ɖukuri -*ruli* s any very small hut, hovel, N. henhouse. Rs. also used contemptuously of a house. (Cp. Sh. *ɖukuri*).

ede ke I am going to arrange your marriages, I am going to marry you off. 116.10. *ja gor ke wap gor nale erim* we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time. 194.3. *M. D.a ke (eye) gor etimi, ewar ke gor etimi* he married his grandmother to M. D. and also effected his own marriage. 194.9. *ja erije gor bole* my son's marriage is (to come off). 10.10. *gorig ogwamman* they finished off the marriages. Cp. 16.1. *gor aiy'etem* how she was unmarried. 244.12.

For details of the Hunza marriage customs see Text No. 58. *See also the entry s.v. dori.*

Add: A payment of a "bori", lit. 12, is made to the Mir. The Mir and Wazir also receive payments of butter, and the four tribal mogadems are each entitled to 1½ seers (3 lbs.) of butter. In practice they receive a half or a third of this. (Cp. 6b. *gor mayiage*). 585

gorovi scattered, strewn about, lying about. — *shkor korowale f'orile gorovi etai* he has strewn the fragments of the dragon about in the pond. 284.1. *gorovi mandhe* they (f) have been scattered about, they are lying about. *ire gortale gorovi ar fat etem.an* scattering their corpses about they left them there. 240.3. *gorovi jagor* a pitchfork (for tossing threshed crops).

gor'ri Bs. *goirig* N. *gwiing y shears.*

gorvitem *kwar* "the tribe of Gorvit" a name given to a kind of bird (presumably collectively). They are black with white on the head and have long necks, frequent ri-er-sides 136

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ginǯərər, ginǯəsər the "sinjid" tree, jujube tree and fruit; IUB, Panj. *beri* (*zizyphus jujuba*). Ar. Pers. *'unnāb ǰaggali*. 000

ginǯərər dhin Na. a kind of bird, starling (?).

1. *gir'əm, gir'əm* h pl. community, clan, IUB H. *gurəh, gruəm*; Bu. *ayuoyu ruəm*. — *wərlti gir'əm* (*hərə*) the "Four Tribes" of Baltit, viz. *Dirəmiliŋ, Xərəlotə, Bərətaliŋ* and *Bərəŋ*. — *wərlti gir'əmo wyərŋə* the headmen of the Four Tribes. *Baltitim wərlti gir'əm gali nəmə Həmətətiŋ* ha *ast'əm ckəmə* the Four Tribes of Baltit assembling instituted a case(?) with the *Həmətətiŋ*. 288.1. *wərlti gir'əmər rəjakiər* gen eli call on the Four Tribes for communal labour. The translation "tribes" exaggerates the significance of these divisions. 621

2. *gir'əm, g'ir'əm* -əliŋ, N. -əŋ y.

a. Isolated houses or hamlets situated among the cultivated lands outside the "Khar", the formerly fortified village. — *Zəŋgə'* *g'ir'əmələr* to the hamlet of Zangsting. 230.1.

b. Roofed cattle-house, for goats and sheep.

(Presumably the same word as the preceding and ultimately deriving from Skr. *grāma*).

gərərə dear, expensive, costly. Pas. 000

gir'əm, pl. *gir'əŋo* s wicker basket or pannier (for carrying grass, manure etc. on the back). 288.8. — *gir'əm* 585 ●
ə'ə'ə the proceeding of the bride accompanied by the bridegroom, 4 to 8 days after their marriage, to her father's house when they bring back a present of bread and dried apricots (*phiṭimuŋ ki həjərəŋ*).

167 a

sinda -*miŋ* y river. — *sinda hawa* the river ford. 112.7. *sinda hawa . . . ŏŏ hirŏ mawaman* they crossed backwards and forwards over the ford in the river. 114.26. *kapulo sinda i-lila* on the strand at the edge of the river. 206.13. Cp. 176.1,7 ooo

sinď'ahal, QUB *sindaw'ri* hm agent who represents bride at wedding; ditto for bridegroom, H. *wakil*. — *hir pakalam hin, dasin mapakalam hin jawaman sinď'ahal dolitan* they put up one relation on behalf of the bridegroom and one on behalf of the bride (as) agent(s) 302.16. 585

sindŭi, pl. *sindawiŋ*, x goose.

siŋge (-*e*), -*ŋiŋ*, -*mots* x dragon, monster, wild animal, lion, Pre. *shiloka*. Also applied to a fearless child. — *siŋge* °-*as* "lion hearted", very brave, dauntless. *A. K. paihawa hom siŋge ve hin* A. K. was a hero, he was lion-hearted. 110.23. (*hin* attracted into the category of *siŋge* or *ve*). *Aan siŋ've dawimi iwa i-k Gawa Siŋge* a monster (demon) came out, its name was G. S. 176.20. Cp. 176.11. ooo

(The word occurs in the *Kawe* story and probably corresponds to Sengye in Dr. A. H. Francke's Ladakhi version of the tale, which he refers to the Sanskrit *singha*, lion. Cp. Tibetan *senge*, Balti *sigge*, lion, brave).

sipa.i -*ŋiŋ* hm sepoy, Indian infantry soldier. Pre. H.

siŋ -*otŋ*, -*antŋ*, N. -*aiwiŋ* x arrow-head (N. blunt for use in games).

(Cp. *lim* with which in *tiŋ*-it is synonymous).

siŋ'a open. — *hinai uŋ'wa asin hiwaŋ'ŋin hom ŋi* the doors are all open.

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

the past year the total collected from fines imposed by me upon the citizens of Hunza totaled less than 200 rupees. You know that my people do not have much money. There is no way or means of earning money—except by the few. We do not require money in order to live in Hunza. Further, the full amount that was collected in this manner was used in the maintenance of the irrigation system."

I waved my hand and said, "I only asked. I didn't think it was true, but I've read so many tales about Hunza in which ridiculous and fantastic statements are made without any justification or background."

"A few years ago," I went on, "two of the most influential and widely circulated magazines in the United States published an article by a famed and capable couple of writers—man and wife. I know they visited Hunza on two occasions because I saw their names in your guest book. Now the story they told and which both of these magazines published stated that it was a custom in Hunza for the mother-in-law to go and live with a newly married couple and remain with them on their honeymoon to teach them the ways of life. You explained that this was the reason why Hunzan marriages were so successful and there was seldom, if ever, a divorce.

"Before asking you to clarify this, I just want to tell you that I read this story and when I came to this specific part, I could hardly believe my eyes. But, as I have learned, there are many strange customs followed by different people throughout the world and of course, this could be absolutely true. But it certainly is strange and weird sounding to me anyway. So tell me, is that story true? Is it the custom of the people of Hunza to have the mother-in-law stay with the newly married couple during their honeymoon?"

"I said it as a joke," replied the Mir. "I had no knowledge that it would be so widely publicized and written and taken as a fact. I did not mean to mislead the writers you mentioned."

"Then it is not true!"

"No," replied the Mir, "I meant it only as a joke!"

There was no doubt in my mind that the Mir had a keen sense of humor. In fact, through all my talks and discussions with the Mir which were frequent, there was seldom a time when he would pass by an opportunity for a bit of witticism or to laugh and have a bit of fun. He was just about as pleasant a man as could be found anywhere. He was not only a great ruler but he had a sense of humor. It was too bad that the writers referred to took him seriously. Maybe it was one of their bad days.

"Do you grow poppies here?" I asked the Mir bluntly and more or less out of the clear blue sky. I put this question to the Mir for a most definite reason.

On a few occasions I saw what I believed to be a field of flowers waving in the distance. But I wasn't sure. Invariably these patches of color were a mile or many miles away. I wondered what they were but I never could get close enough to see them. They were always sighted at great distance from where the road lay.

You might ask why I didn't definitely, once and for all, set out across the field and find out. But remember, when you're in a more or less strange unusual territory, you just don't go off across the fields into someone else's private property.

All told, I doubt if I saw more than half a dozen of these patches of color during the full length of my travels. There might have been many more but I certainly didn't see them and I have an idea that if they

7:Tobe C,T-3 (1959)1960 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

nature of their homeland.

However, the Mir pointed out to me most clearly and emphatically that intermarriage among members of one tribe is absolutely forbidden. There are four tribes in the Baltit area and they can marry among these four tribes . . . Diramiting, Khorokoch, Borong, Barataling . . . but definitely not among their own tribe.

Lest this sounds like a difficult matter to hold in check, I want to explain that this is easier to control than may be imagined, for the simple reason that all marriages must be sanctioned and performed by the Mir. Therefore he positively knows who is marrying whom.

However, even if this has been the rule for many hundreds of years, the total population of Hunza, even today, stands at something less than 25,000 souls and Lord Curzon in his memoirs states that in 1894, the total population of Hunza was only 6,000. Therefore, among so small a population, it is almost impossible for them to marry very far beyond a family relationship. (In 1934 it was estimated that the population had risen to 15,000.)

Let's put it in another way. If the people of Hunza have remained more or less a pure people for nigh on 1,000 years and the population today is only 25,000, there must have been fairly close intermarriages. Perhaps that would, as I mentioned, account for the similarity of features.

I want to stress, at this point, that I came to Hunza primarily to learn and study (1) about their health and longevity and (2) about their means and methods of agriculture.

Let's examine or re-examine a few of the more pertinent details of their unusual country.

Hunza is a country that lies along the Hunza River

when a child is one month old. Due to any one of many circumstances, it can be put off, but it is performed before the child becomes of school age in practically all cases. 852 304

The Mir told me a case of a man who came from Murtazabad. He had gone away to Persia when he was just young and eventually returned to Hunza uncircumcised. Then he met a girl, fell in love and wanted to get married. Before the marriage ceremony could be performed, he had to allow himself to be circumcised. This, in a mature male can amount to major surgery and a long period of illness, pain and recovery. 582 304

Evidently circumcision has been proved beneficial to mankind because, from the information that I have received, it is now generally practiced throughout the Western world as well. It is unthinkable that any Mohammedan would take unto himself a wife before he had been circumcised. By law a man can marry at 15 and a woman, or should I say girl, when she is 9 years of age. Therefore it is almost compulsory that circumcision be performed before a male is 15.

It is quite common for the parents to arrange for their children's marriages when quite young. That is, the parents betroth the children to each other even from the tender ages of childhood. Nowadays in Hunza the men marry between the ages of 19 and 21 and the girls from the ages of 13 to 15. Actually that isn't too far different from the custom in the West. 582 [584]

All marriages take place at one time of the year in Hunza—usually December 21st—and there must be snow on the ground on the Hunzan wedding day. Where the Mohammedan law runs in opposition to the Hunzan law, the Hunzan law invariably prevails. 585 [671]

Yes, there is divorce in Hunza, but it is very rare. 586

487 I am sure that a people who saw these caravans coming
177 and going could not be called isolated by any stretch of the imagination. They just like their little piece of paradise too well to leave it.

133 *Hunza empties into the Indus.* Two famed writers who should know better . . . or should I say, should have checked more closely . . . made the statement that the Hunza River flows into the Indus. Even a cursory glance at a map would show that the Hunza empties into the Gilgit and the Gilgit empties into the Indus.

585 *Mother-in-law taken along on honeymoon*—This bit of stupidity, or should I say absurdity, appeared in no less than two of the foremost publications in America. Who ever heard of a honeymoon in Hunza? Not having a Niagara Falls, probably they'd go up and sit on top of Rakaposhi with the mother-in-law between them to cool their ardor.

When the Mir made this statement, he was joking, never believing for a moment that anyone would take such a broad joke as being factual.

481 *Hunzans walk* 60 *to* 100 *miles as though it were*
147 *nothing.* In fact, one author stated somewhere that the Hunzans could walk 60 miles easier than she could walk upstairs.

I will readily grant that I believe the Hunzan people are the world's best walkers and well they would have to be, because there just happens to be no other mode of locomotion. I'll even go further and say that all through my travels in that territory I did not once see a Hunzan man, or for that matter a Nagirwal, who appeared to be worn from the rugged walks and climbs. So it is clear that they have tremendous reserves of energy and stamina . . . but let's not go overboard!

486 *Anyone can visit Hunza.* Contrary to the assertion
114 made by one writer that anyone can get into Hunza, I

262 meals. By September, wheat replaces the barley, and fresh grapes, carrots, and some melons are available. The [273] grapes are either eaten fresh or made into wine; the supply of both is always exhausted by spring.

796 585 Tumushuling, the great winter celebration in mid-December, is a sort of delayed thanksgiving feast. December 19, the day before the Tumushuling celebration, is the day in Hunza on which all weddings are celebrated. Each bridegroom, accompanied by several of his friends, goes to the home of his betrothed and sits outside her door, which is kept partially open. Periodically, he hands in gifts of cloth, food, or perhaps even a dish or pan [431] from Pakistan. Meanwhile, his friends give chapatties with butter, a real luxury, to any wayfarers who may pass by—a custom that encourages some travelers to take circuitous routes in order to encounter the well-to-do [492] marriages. By evening the gifts are exhausted and the groom returns home, leading his veiled bride, who either walks or is mounted on a donkey. Tumushuling thus is a group wedding celebration as well as a harvest festival.

[643] [431] The Mir gives a small gift, usually a piece of cloth, to every bridegroom who comes to claim it.

585 583 As in most Asian cultures, Hunza marriage is civil rather than sacramental. The ceremony is really a not-too-symbolic purchase of the bride.

8:Clark N-5 (1948-1951) 1963 AV7 Burusho AV7
Hunza

[P.45]

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[662]

CELEBRATION of wedding ceremony is enjoyed exclusively by male participants and spectators. Segregation of the sexes prohibits women, including bride, from viewing ceremony. On many public occasions, women hold a separate gathering.

D 105 Marraiges are arranged for auspicious days and hours which are ascertained on each occasion from the village priest.

B 105 *Temporary unions* are allowed by Shias only.

Free access is not allowed before marriage generally.

No caste prohibits remarriages of widows. Moral laxity prevails to a certain extent.

8. *Death.*—The head of the dead points North but the face is turned to the West towards Mecca, the religious centre of Muslims. When a death occurs food is not cooked in that house for three days and cooked food is sent by relatives for that period. On the third, seventh and fortieth day alms are given to avert calamities, also on the first anniversary after the death.

Indigenous drugs are used for medicines and almost every one knows the medicinal properties of certain local plants and use them when required.

9. *Amusements.*—Swimming, polo playing, racing, wrestling, tug of war, arcery, dancing, singing, etc., are some of the amusements indulged in; women do not participate in the sport undertaken by men. They hold their own separate congregation on occasions of rejoicings such as Id and indulge in singing and dancing away from the eyes of the men.

Festival occasions.—Id-ul-Fittar, Id Haj, Id Ghadir and Nauroz are the chief occasions on which rejoicings are made by dancing, singing, polo playing, running and wrestling etc. Dancing is held in a circle to the beat of drum.

D 585 539 10. Before a number of the village people after sunset on the night before the marriage the following song is sung at the bridegroom's house in the following manners:—

B 585 539 A large iron pan is placed in the middle of the assembly and a man of the Katchate or Babuse family rushes forth with some ghee, atta, and seeds of wild rue or leaves of chili, and, putting these things into the pan burns a little fire under it till the contents begin to smoke. To fumigate all the air in the room he holds the pan by its brim and lifting his hands above his head, commences to dance to the accompaniment of the band, while the people applaud and sing a song of which the following is a translation:—

(1) The pan belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let any one place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(2) The pan belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let any other place this pan on the hearth.

I will place it there myself.

(3) The pan is worthy of belonging to kings, etc.

(4) The pan is worth being kept by a family, etc.

(5) The pan belongs to Shah Mir, the Chief of Kashmir, etc.

(6) The pan belongs to Maqpun, the Chief of Skardu, etc.

(7) The pan belongs to Mughlot, the Chief of Nagar, etc.

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(8) The pan belongs to Khana, the Raja of Yasin, etc.

(9) The pan belongs to righteous Girkis (the ruler of Hunza).

(10) The pan belongs to Maryo the son of Machat (a celebrated person of the Rono family).

B 585 539

(11) The pan is placed on Neelo But etc. At the same time the women who are in an inner room recite the following song :—

Translation.

(1) A large coral grain belongs to Bair Gul.

I will never let another string this on a thread.

I will string it myself.

(2) A large coral grain belongs to Malik, the Chief of Gilgit.

I will never let another string this.

I will string it myself.

After the marriage cermony the following song is sung at the house of the bride :—

Translation.

(1) Come out, O beloved of your mother, why are you delaying?

(2) Come out, O water sprite, why are you delaying?

(3) Come, O possessers of golden locks, why are you delaying?

(4) Come out, O mistress of charming eyes, why are you delaying?

(5) Come out, O owner of pearly teeth, why are you delaying?

On this she is brought out. She weeps bitterly at the separation from her relatives, and the assembly sings the following song :—

Translation.

(1) Do not weep, O flower-like girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(2) Thou wilt go on a lofty hill, O girl, thy complexion will turn pale.

(3) Thou wilt (by weeping) burn your heat, thy complexion will turn pale.

Typical birth song ... Nil

Typical death song ... Nil

B 212 D 212

11. No written language possessed by the people.

~~16~~ Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 ~~AU1 Afghanistan AU1~~
4 AV3 Dard AV3
Burusho AV7

D 584 B 584 Marriage is the occasion for much ceremony, which differs slightly in each locality. Though the young people often arrange a marriage between themselves, it is more usual for the match to be arranged by the parents. After determining by private negotiation the conditions of the match, the bridegroom's father proceeds to make a formal proposal. Dressed in his gayest clothes, and accompanied by his friend, he visits the bride's family, who are assembled to meet him, taking with him certain presents, such as a cow or sheep, beads, clothes, and a sword or gun. The formal demand for the bride having been made and assented to, an interchange of presents takes place. In Chitral, Wakhan, and Sirikol the bride has a bracelet of beads placed on her arm by the bridegroom's father. In Gilgit, cedar branches are burnt, and the bride's parents are presented with a knife, a rope, a few yards of cloth, and a leather bag for holding grain; the bridegroom's father receives in return some wool and a gourd. This interchange of gifts is apparently emblematical. In Torwal the price of the bride is paid over at this time, and the bridegroom's father is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and sport to the assembled company. In some places it is not etiquette for the bridegroom to be present.

D 585 B 585 The betrothal being completed, the marriage may not follow for some time, but it generally takes place within the following year. For convenience marriages generally take place in January and February. There is then no agricultural work to occupy the men, and the houses are well stored with meat. So firmly established is the custom in Nager, that a heavy fine is inflicted on marriages held at any other season.

The fixing of the day for the marriage now rests with the bridegroom's parents. After giving private notice, a smartly-dressed friend of the bridegroom is sent to announce formally that he will arrive on a certain day to claim his bride. Certain prescribed presents are interchanged on the occasion. On the appointed day the bridegroom, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrows, and battle axe, sets out for the bride's house. The bride remains in the inner apartments, dressed in her gayest clothes with a fillet of cowrie shells bound on her head. This decoration is said to have been introduced by the Shins, and is obligatory among them. On entering the house branches of cedar are burned in an iron dish and waved about over the bridegroom's head, and the party is sprinkled with flour. In Wakhan and Sirikol the bridegroom is met and sprinkled with flour

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D
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B
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at some distance from the bride's house. All being seated, a large platter full of bread is presented to the bridegroom, who distributes it to all the company, after which he places his gun or sword on the platter and it becomes the perquisite of the dish-bearer. In Gilgit two of the bride's and two of the bridegroom's friends are seated face to face, and a cake of bread is passed across; each of the bride's friends breaks off a piece, which is left in the dish, and the bridegroom's men place their turbans or caps in it as a token that their heads are at the bride's disposal. The dish is carried in to the bride, who sends back the turbans. In former days the eating of bread together, at this stage, by the bride and bridegroom, was considered to complete the marriage. The idea was that, whoever managed first to eat a morsel would have the mastery in wedded life, and this always caused a scramble. At every stage a prescribed interchange of presents, which have all been carefully stipulated for beforehand, takes place. Meanwhile the friends of both families have been spending the day outside the house in singing and dancing, and this is kept up all night also. The price of the bride, and the presents agreed upon, having been made over to her family, the Moollah appears and reads the marriage service according to the Sharyat. In Chitral the bridegroom then starts for his home with his bride. In Wakhan and Sirikol he is conducted to the bride, and does not take her away till next day; the women of her family resist his entering the room in which she is until he pacifies them with presents. In Gilgit the two still remain apart, and next day the "Kalak Malak," which is peculiar to Gilgit, takes place. This constitutes the ratification of the marriage, and is the assessment of all the presents given from first to last. Two friends of each side meet and appraise all the presents given by the bridegroom. Three toloos of gold-dust, equal to twenty-four rupees, represent the price of the bride herself. Her father then produces a large cooking-pot, a bed, jewels, clothes, dishes, and other articles needful for setting up house. The bride is summoned and allowed to select any two of the articles, which are given with her free. The assessors then price the rest, not forgetting to value the presents given and received since the betrothal, and the price of the balance is paid over at once by the bridegroom or his father.

All being satisfactorily settled, preparations are made for bringing out the bride. The bridegroom and his friends

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D
585 stand round the door, and everybody is sprinkled with flour. In Chitral the bride is led out by her mother, who hands her over to the bridegroom, receiving a present in exchange. In Bo Gilgit the women of the bride's family follow the party, 585 assailing the bridegroom with abuse and pelting him with mud and filth, feigning anger. After going a mile in this way, the bridegroom gives a present to the bride's mother, and is then allowed to depart in peace. This is no doubt a relic of the practice of marriage by capture. Sometimes on leaving the house a goat is slaughtered in front of the couple. The flour-sprinkling is practised everywhere and at different stages, but I cannot ascertain what the custom denotes. In Gilgit it is called Doobun.

After a few days it is customary for the bride's parents to visit the newly-married couple, when they are received with flour-sprinkling, which is repeated on the first occasion of the bride revisiting her father's house. In some places it is customary for the couple to go and stay for several months with the bride's parents soon after marriage.

In Wakhan and Chitral, after leading out the bride the bridegroom returns alone and deposits a present of a gun or a sword on the hearth. In Munjan and Ludkho the couple are accompanied to their homes by all the women of the villages, dancing and singing. They are left alone in the house for seven days, during which food is conveyed to them, but nobody enters, nor are they allowed to leave.

In Torwal the bridegroom's party is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and jest, and the whole village take part in the entertainment of the bridegroom's friends. The day after marriage the bride is visited by the women of her husband's family, to whom she must show proofs of her not having brought "a cracked teacup" into the family. She is then congratulated and praised; but should she fail to show the requisite proofs, she is ever after treated with contempt.

Bi
585 In Baltistan, according to Vigne, the husband goes in person to see the bride instead of sending a friend or relation to do so, and if he please he may refuse her, and on the marriage day the bride comes to his house instead of his going to fetch her.

Though the young people often arrange a marriage among themselves before asking the consent of their parents, they are not allowed to meet after it has been agreed upon. Should they meet out of doors by accident, etiquette demands that they should pass with averted eyes and without speaking.

4: Biddulph G-3 (1873-1878) 1880 AV3 Dard AV3
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B 585 D 585

In Gor, rings are exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nager, it is the custom, when a daughter is married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yassin, when, as not unfrequently happens, the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, the young couple elope, with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom comes to them and asks forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene is acted, forgiveness is granted, the neighbours are summoned to the feast which has been already prepared, and the wedding is celebrated. This is to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.

D B 582 D B 851 D B 842

The old marriage barriers between the castes are beginning to be broken down under the levelling influence of Mahommedanism, and in a few generations will probably disappear altogether. The birth of a son is always a matter of general rejoicing. The friends of the happy father at once make it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks keep up a general *feu-de-joie* till their powder flasks are empty. The village band is summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day. No notice is taken of the birth of daughters. In the Oxus Valley and in Sirikol, when a son is born, all the father's friends hang their weapons on the walls of his house, so as to accustom the infant to martial sights. After seven days the weapons are returned to the owners, except those belonging to near relations, who receive special presents in exchange.

D B 846

After the birth of a child a woman is esteemed unclean, and no one will eat from her hand for seven days. North of the Hindoo Koosh this period is extended to forty days, and for the first seven the infant is not allowed to suckle its mother.

D 764

I have elsewhere discussed the old custom of disposing of the dead by burning. Now the common form of Mussulman interment is used. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long is neatly plastered over the graves, and a light is kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth has hardened; but, as Mr. Drew has remarked, this is more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care is paid to old graves, which constantly present a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. I remarked in Sirikol the same want of attention to old graves

Yale Biddulph G-3 (1873-1874) 1880 AVB-Afghanistan-AVB
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The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to ascertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women;" and the little I have been able to ascertain is from Maulais who have proselytized, and those only men of no education. D 795 B 795

Soonnees speak of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi," but they themselves do not refuse to pray or eat with Soonnees. They are sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "Ali-purust," and they undoubtedly esteem Ali, who, they say, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Mahommed, and an incarnation of the deity. They reject the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds are punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions are rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claim little in common with other sects of Mahommedans, saying, the Soonnee is a dog and the Shiah is an ass. They question the divine character of the Koran, though they say that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Mahommed.

They use in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which is shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them is, that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that have strayed into standing crops are not to be driven out till they have satisfied themselves. A good Maulai is already as one dead, prayers therefore are unnecessary, as also is fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinch of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined is to the living head of their faith, who is styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage can be performed by any man whose beard is white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he takes a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gives them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gives half to the woman, and after he has said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony is completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima is

D B [782] D B [779] D B. [595]